UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

What's Happened to Common Sense? - - - - - - - - *Waldemar Argow*

The Lessons of the First Phase of the War - - - - - - - - *Hermann Rauschning*

A Basic Necessity - - - - *Flora White*

Quaker Persecutions - - - *O. A. Hammand*

A Humanist Funeral Service - *Corliss Lamont*

THE STUDY TABLE
Charles A. Hawley

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Contents

EDITORIAL—
Notes 99
Jottings—J. H. H. 102

ARTICLES—
What's Happened to Common Sense?—WALDEMAR ARGOW 102
The Lessons of the First Phase of the War—HERMANN RAUSCHNING 104
A Basic Necessity—FLORA WHITE 105
Quaker Persecutions—O. A. HAMMAND 106
A Humanist Funeral Service—CORLISS LAMONT 108
On the Pacifist Front—XXVII 109

POETRY—
To the Preacher—CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN 107

THE STUDY TABLE—
Book Reviews by CHARLES A. HAWLEY 111

THE FIELD—
The Platform of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee—*C.C.L.C.* 98
From a German Refugee in London 112
Hysteria in America 112

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

The Platform of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee

The platform of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee is the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States and that of the State of Illinois. The Committee deals with nothing else but the rights guaranteed to all people by the fundamental laws. The fields of social and economic legislation and planning, of welfare, and of international affairs are outside its province, except as the constitutional rights of the American people may be involved. The aim of the Committee is to see that legislation is in conformity with the Bill of Rights, and when it is in conformity to see that all people are treated alike. "No person," declares the Fourteenth Amendment, "shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, . . . nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." To help make that declaration live is the work of the Committee.

The Bill of Rights comprises a number of rights but chiefly the rights of free speech, free press, freedom of assemblage, religious freedom, freedom from arbitrary interference in homes, freedom from arbitrary detention, habeas corpus for those accused of crime, and trial by jury. Most fundamental of all these in a democracy are the rights of free speech, free press, and freedom of assemblage. "These are the liberties that guard our other liberties," said Jefferson. Take away the right to communicate and the people have no means of protecting any of their rights or of performing the civic duties required in a democracy.

The Bill of Rights is the heart of democracy. Actually democracy could not exist unless the people be protected in the exercise of their fundamental right to think, speak, assemble, communicate and petition. Dictatorships recognize this and their first steps toward obtaining power are to take away these rights. The abolition of other rights follows in turn.

Many people fail to understand that the Bill of Rights does not protect anyone in committing overt acts constituting crimes. Acts of sabotage, espionage, treason, or other crimes, are beyond the pale of constitutional protection. Men must take the consequences of illegal acts committed by them even when exercising their right to speak, write, and assemble; speech and writing may be held illegal when an illegal act is advocated and there is a clear and present danger of its being performed. All the Bill of Rights does in respect to crimes is to require that laws defining and punishing crimes must be in accord with the Constitution and that persons charged with crime shall be tried and punished only by due process of law.

The Chicago Civil Liberties Committee believes that the surest way to protect and promote democracy is to permit its free exercise. Here it is in company with the founders of the American Constitution and of the American Republic and of all the great leaders since that time. It has been demonstrated repeat-

(*Continued on page* 112)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXXVI MONDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1940 No. 7

KEEP AMERICA OUT!

"The war will go on for a very long time. God knows now what the end will be.

"Only I feel that, even if we are all going to be rushed down to extinction, one must hold up the other, living truth, of Right and pure reality, the reality of the clear, eternal spirit. One must speak for life and growth, amid all this mass of destruction and disintegration.

"Pray to heaven to keep America always out of this war. God knows what will be the end of Europe. . . ."

From the *War Letters* of
D. H. LAWRENCE (1914-18).

A YEAR AND A DAY

All questions of judgment and opinion melt away before the moral sublimity of the eight theological students in New York who refused as a matter of conscience to register under the Conscription Act, and without protest or complaint received punishment which the judge named as imprisonment for a year and a day. Most conscientious objectors were willing, we think rightly, to register under a law which recognized conscientious objection to war, but these men were not, and they stood loyally by their convictions. In this tragic circumstance, the country has the comfort of knowing that it can still breed sons who are willing, at whatever cost, to "obey God rather than men." The students, in turn, have the comfort of knowing that they have written an heroic chapter in the history of pacifism, and transmitted to the future an immortal memory of martyrdom. We crave for UNITY the honor of publishing the names of these noble exemplars of Christian faith:

Donald Benedict
Joseph J. Bevilacqua
Meredith E. Dallas
David Dellinger
George M. Houser
William N. Lovell
Howard Spragg
Richard J. Wichlei

"ENGLAND, MY ENGLAND"

There is a sickening feeling in our heart as, day after day, we read of the bombing of England and of the increasing devastation wrought by the bombers. The bombing of Germany does not affect us the same way at all. In saying this, we are not thinking of the loss of life involved. The massacre of civilians, of helpless women and children, of the aged, the sick, and the infirm, is equally horrible upon both sides of the battle-front. Neither are we becoming warlike all of a sudden, and abandoning our pacifism for militarism. We are simply discovering and confessing the place that England—not the British Empire, but *England!*—holds in our affections. Just as a matter of personal pain and grief, the destruction of a dozen German towns would not touch us as deeply as the smashing of one old English village. Even to think of a bomb falling on England's "green and pleasant" countryside is enough to bring tears to the eyes. As for famous buildings, historical monuments, churches, tombs, and birthplaces, it seems more than the mind can endure to think of them as day and night in danger. If Westminster Abbey should be blown to ruin, or the dome of St. Paul's come crashing to earth, or Canterbury be damaged, or Edinburgh be laid waste, we feel as though we should not want to live. There may be greater treasures in the world. Emerson has written,

> Earth proudly wears the Parthenon,
> As the best gem upon her zone,
> And Morning opes with haste her lids,
> To gaze upon the Pyramids.

But in the very next line, Emerson continued,

> O'er England's abbeys bends the sky
> As on its friends, with kindred eye.

These things are precious beyond all estimate. They are enwrought in history, and entangled in the heart-strings of our common being. Of course, at bottom, war-stricken Germany is a loss as well. Not Berlin, a shoddy and pretentious capital, but Munich, Nuremberg (before Hitler polluted it), Rottenburg, Dresden, the Cologne Cathedral, the Wartburg, Weimar—these also move the heart! But England is our own, as Germany can never be. She belongs to our especial culture, and is a unique part of our inheritance. Therefore is her destruction like the murder of a mother, or the wrecking of a home. There must have been those in the classic days who felt this way when Athens was burned, and Rome fell. For what we now see going on in Europe has all happened before. Man is a mighty destroyer no more surely than he is a mighty builder. But is it necessary? Must this awful round of erecting and tearing down go on forever? Is war doomed to curse us to the end? Forbid it, Almighty God!

NATIONAL UNITY

What's all this sudden cry for national unity? The day following the presidential campaign, the New York *Times* published an editorial, "United We Stand," calling upon all Americans to unite "in their belief in the democratic purpose." On this same night a great unity meeting was held at Carnegie Hall, New York, under the auspices of the Council for Democracy, at which Alfred M. Landon and Attorney-General Robert H. Jackson spoke. Already, on election day itself, was announced the organization of the American Defenders of Freedom, which is to devote itself to the cause of "fundamental unity" in this country. Now if all this means a desire for national unity in the sense of mutual tolerance, good will and liberty among all sorts and conditions of men—the kind of unity commended in our editorial in the last issue of UNITY on the Mayor La Guardia text—well and good! But being something more than a few days old, and not unused to the ways and means of subversive propaganda, we must confess ourselves suspicious of what looks all too much like a drive to herd all good Americans together in the hour of crisis. We can almost see the dogs driving the sheep into the fold of conformity and accord. For how long will it be before we are told that we must not criticize the administration, lest we spread dissension among the people? In how many days will we be warned that opposition to conscription, or to the preparedness program, or to the latest war move, is dividing our citizens in what must be one great united effort to defend the nation against the attacks of her enemies? How soon will we be brought face to face with an attempt to silence dissenters on this or that matter of public policy, since in the need of unity there can be tolerated no dissent? We would not impugn the motives of honorable men, but we would insist that in this case they are treading on terribly dangerous ground. There is a democratic unity of the spirit; but there is also a totalitarian unity of the law or the dictator's will. In this age, with totalitarianism all about us, we get easily frightened at all this sudden and insistent demand for national unity. It would seem as though freedom and the precious right of the individual to protest are what really need emphasis.

PACIFISM AND PURE RELIGION

The editor of the *Christian Register* is our friend for life. He differs with us stoutly on the issue of pacifism, but does so with unquenchable good humor, with utter fairness and good will, and with not a trace of bigotry. We have no desire to continue a controversy which has rather strangely broken out between us. It is fun scoring points, but seldom useful to the end of truth. It is all right with us if we simply agree to disagree, with mutual respect for honest opinion however mistakenly held. Yet is there one point raised in the *Christian Register's* latest editorial which we would discuss not for the sake of argument but because of its own intrinsic importance. We refer to Mr. Jones' doubts as to whether there can be any such thing as "pure religion." We had used the phrase, perhaps in imitation of St. James, to indicate our faith that pacifism is an expression of that idealism which is pure religion in action. But Mr. Jones insists that pure religion is an abstraction. It cannot be lived any more than pure oxygen can be breathed. It must be adulterated if anything practically effective is to be done with it at all. Pacifism therefore is fantastic, and should hold the attention of no realistic mind. Now, we do not at the moment dispute this. We simply record it as perhaps the central issue of religious controversy today. Mr. Jones' contention is of course utterly alien to the whole tradition of Christian idealism, including that of our own Unitarian liberalism. But it runs on all fours with Reinhold Niebuhr's doctrines which have stirred profounder discussion in religious thought in America than anything which has appeared since Horace Bushnell. Niebuhr, in his latest book, entitled *Christianity and Power Politics,* is scornful of the idea that Christianity can be lived as Jesus taught it. "Simple Christian moralism," says Reinhold Niebuhr, "is senseless and confusing." The whole Christian gospel, as set in a wicked world, is futile of performance, and can only be held as a visionary standard for the measure of man's sin. This is undoubtedly a point of view, and it seems to be held by the Editor of the *Christian Register.* To us such opinion marks not only the repudiation of "pure religion," but the bankruptcy of all religion whatsoever.

HOLIDAYS

These holidays which pile up upon us at this time of the year are getting embarrassing. Armistice Day, for example!—how could we celebrate that occasion? We tried hard enough to do it. The President spoke brave words at Arlington in assurance that the Unknown Soldier and his comrades had not died in vain. Hushed ceremonies were held here and there by devout patriots. But there was little heart in it all. It would have been better, perhaps, had we followed the example of England and France, and abandoned the observance of a day which could bring only a sense of frustration and disillusionment to our hearts. Next came Thanksgiving Day—on November 28th in New England and certain other states, on November 21st elsewhere! What could we do with this holiday? Thank God that our country is rich and secure, and still enjoying the blessings of peace? But this would be all too much like the publican in the Scriptures who thanked God that he was "not as other men." Yet to consider the world at large was to find little enough to be thankful for. So we did on Thanksgiving Day what we have done before on this ancient holiday—sought comfort in generalities and wistful hopes. And now comes Christmas, which is the hardest day of them

all. For Christmas is preëminently the occasion when we commemorate "peace on earth and good will to men." But where on earth is there any peace, and where on earth can be found any good will? Alas for the Christ Child, who today, as on the first Christmas day, is driven from the haunts of men, and forced to take refuge with the beasts of the byre! Yet is Christmas rescued, as no other holiday is rescued, by *the things we ourselves choose to do* for our loved ones and for the miserable of earth by the sheer love of our own spirit. What is lacking in the world we deliberately create, that some light, however feeble, may still shine amid the darkness of these times. Thus, at Christmastide do we defy the hate and lust which wreak havoc upon mankind, and lead Christ to triumph in myriads of homes and hearts. But if this can be done on Christmas day, why not on every holiday? Here is the secret of holiday observance—that we shall achieve within what cannot yet be achieved without, and thus make the soul of man victorious over his lagging world.

WHAT ABOUT FOOTBALL?

With the passing of another football season there rises again the question of what to do about this monstrous game. For some time we have been told that this question would take care of itself—that professional football, so much better and more entertainingly played than college football, would oust the latter from public favor! But we cannot see that college football is disappearing, or losing any considerable element of popularity. Certainly in the Middle West, where it is played with immense efficiency, football seems to be as much in the ascendant in the college world as ever. But is this football really college football? Or is it professional football flowing back into the colleges and thus professionalizing what was once an honest amateur game? What impresses us is the fact that wherever college football (so-called!) flourishes, the game is under the stigma of professional or semi-professional standards; whereas in the older colleges of the East, where football is still conducted on an amateur basis, it is languishing as one of our merely minor sports. Certainly successful football is a scandal and a shame. Why, it is announced that one college in this country, desiring to do a thorough job of it, has decided to build a football dormitory or residence hall, where the athletes of the gridiron may be maintained and entertained on a scale appropriate to their high professional standing. What this all means is that professional football is indeed ousting college or amateur football, but in a way never dreamed of by the sports authorities. Evidently the time is at hand when something drastic must be done—and it strikes us that Chicago University, in eliminating football from the campus, has bravely shown the way. Now let Harvard, Yale, Princeton, which still recognize some decencies in this matter, follow suit—or else play their own football simply among themselves as an out-and-out boys' game. There is something shocking, to our mind, in pitting eleven youngsters, however well trained, against eleven giant-like professional bruisers, and calling it a game. As for these semi-professional college teams, they are a disgrace to American education, and a monument to the timidity and ineptitude of the college presidents and trustees who tolerate them.

CHARLIE CHAPLIN'S "GREAT DICTATOR"

Charlie Chaplin has achieved a miracle. In his current movie, "The Great Dictator," he has made Hitler and Mussolini ridiculous. He has done to the rulers of our time what Voltaire did to the emperors and kings of his time—namely, turned the laughter of men against them. This laughter is in the long run a more terrible thing than hate, if only because it leaves the heart of the laugher cleansed of all corruption. When a man hates he stirs within himself a poison which in the end devours the hater as well as the hated. This passion of hatred, in other words, is like a boomerang which sooner or later turns back upon the man who throws it. But laughter is like an arrow which flies straight and sure to its mark. Certainly there never has been so devastating a picture of the dictators as this which Chaplin presents in his incomparable screen play. What we see is the utter pettiness and silliness of the men—their puny inconsequence in the midst of events which shake the world and tear men's hearts. Hitler, the wretched psychopath, what is he, for all his terror, but a mere dancing puppet which needs but the mere understanding of common men to be cast in contempt into the dustbin of history? Mussolini has of course always been ridiculous in his own person. A clown and mountebank, swollen with empty wind, his part in the film was written and acted in Rome long before it was caught and photographed in Hollywood. But Chaplin's Hitler is an original creation. Most of us have not seen in the Fuehrer much to laugh at. We have rather done homage to this Nazi chieftain by taking him as seriously as he has taken himself. But Chaplin, with inspired understanding and penetrating insight, has torn away the veils, stripped the Nazi naked, and revealed the hilarious nonentity that has all this time been hidden within. Never has Chaplin been so great an artist, or himself so great a man. It is amazing that so many of the critics should have been so blind to his achievement, and thus so incredibly stupid in their reviews of "The Great Dictator." Insisting that Charlie Chaplin shall remain always the funny and pitiful little man of the early plays, they seem to have resented his emergence as a kind of cosmic commentator upon the pompous pretenders of our day. We say it in all reverence that if God were to comment upon the Fuehrer and the Duce, this is the kind of interpretation he would present. So—all hail to Chaplin!

Jottings

Let it be inscribed on Neville Chamberlain's tomb:

"Not failure but low aim is crime."

In a world which measures all achievement by success, Chamberlain's Munich Pact was a disgrace because it failed. But the time will come when it will be remembered that this man dared everything, even personal humiliation, to save a world from war. One such deed, though a failure, weighs more than all the glories of the sword.

The administration's policy toward conscientious objectors promises to be exemplary. It seems to be based upon the principle that it is the government's business under the conscription law to fill regiments and not jails.

There was a fierce and bitter satire in the designation of Mr. Herbert Morrison, Minister of Home Security in the British Cabinet, to visit the death-strewn streets of Coventry and survey the shattered houses.

Mr. Winston Churchill says that the war against Germany will be reaching its flood in 1943 and 1944. But how much will there be left of Europe worth fighting for by either of these years?

A radio announcer declares that the price of a certain advertised article is "plentifully less than you will pay elsewhere." This reminds us of the famous song in *Porgy and Bess,* entitled "I've Got Plenty of Nuthin'."

"Nazi" and "Nazareth" begin with the same syllable. But, as Wordsworth cries in one of his poems, "O, the difference . . . !"

J. H. H.

What's Happened to Common Sense?

WALDEMAR ARGOW

I sat in a room in a Harvard dormitory one night last June and listened to a conversation that sounded like something out of H. G. Wells. The only difference was that this was not fiction. The students making that conversation believed it in deadly earnest. There were eight or ten boys there, all of them graduate students. One of them had been working on a theory. Bolstered by alleged facts and statistics, it was this: Sometime in August (last) Germany's armed forces were going to invade the United States. They would accomplish this signal feat by establishing successive bases at Greenland, Newfoundland, and off the coast of Canada. They would then swoop down in droves and, with the help of the inevitable Fifth Column, paralyze all key industrial and military centers in the East. It followed as a matter of course that the rest of the country would then surrender, and the conquest of America would thus be assured.

This whole fantastic idea was backed by a collection of statistics which showed Germany's undisputed air superiority, her tank-carrying planes, her ability to transport thousands of troops by air, her elaborately developed invasion tactics. As the evening moved on, this idea of an August invasion grew more and more plausible as the group grew more and more excited. By 2:30 a. m. the originator of the idea must have considered it a complete success because at that time one of the boys seriously began to consider plans for going home the next week-end. His family lived in New York, and since he was going to be in a camp in New Hampshire in August, he would not have an opportunity of seeing his mother and father before the invasion began.

I listened to that flood of statistics and "incontrovertible" facts for four hours. And there was not a lot I could say. I did not have the material at hand to refute those statistics. I could not deny that it was possible to establish air bases in Greenland and Newfoundland. There was only one argument I could have used, and, the emotional and objective temper of the group being what it was, I did not even try. That argument was common sense.

Such conversations as these must have been common all over the country last summer. There at Harvard in May and June (and again this fall) war talk was rampant, dozens of faculty members were speaking out openly in behalf of the Allies, even the President of the University was making speeches which could scarcely be called neutral. Up in Maine, embattled villagers were meeting to train for fighting invading troops. The National Legion of Mothers of America launched plans for teaching its members how to shoot rifles in defense against invasion from the air. A proposal was made that swimming pool owners all over the country register at Washington so that anti-aircraft guns might be set up in their pools. A former Assistant Secretary of the Navy called for an immediate declaration of war against Germany.

War talk, invasion talk, interventionist talk whirled and eddied over the eastern states last summer like a dark tornado. And in it was little glimmer of common sense. A lot of it was talk, full of facts and statistics, that you found difficulty in refuting. It sounded distressingly convincing. I was reminded by it of the time in college when a friend of mine who was mathematically gifted showed me an arithmetical trick he had worked out which proved that the surface of the moon was 25 miles away from the face of the earth. Though I knew there was some fault in his calculations, I could not find it in a dozen tries. I was finally obliged to retreat to my last line of protest—common sense.

Men frequently say that truth is the first casualty of war. I wonder if common sense is not the first victim

instead; though as a matter of fact the two are so closely akin that they probably go down together. The unreasoning manner in which we have accepted the suggestion of invasion, the idea of billions for defense, a two-ocean navy, the pitfalls of conscription, all imply that our national thinking is suffering from a number of dangerous deficiencies, not the least of which is common sense.

Well, what is this virtue of common sense that seems to be missing? It is a quality made up of one part imagination, one part native intelligence, one part insight, and two parts objective thinking. It is a gyroscope which steadies the mind when irrational storms are buffeting it about inside the brain. It is an attitude which a nation surrenders when it begins to think, as Walter Duranty says, with its hopes or fears or wishes, rather than with its minds. When this last fact happens, that nation then becomes a prey to all the monsters and hobgoblins that drive a people down the road to war.

Now, of course, common sense is an agreeable term and lends itself to many definitions. The militarist who advises an immediate declaration of war, the professor who recommends all possible moral and military aid, and the man who begs that we play no role of any sort in the European tragedy all claim the allegiance of common sense. Which of these men is right? The only way to reach that decision is to stand back and get as clear a perspective as possible. Common sense has a long range. It does not climb down and lose itself in the muddle of popular thinking. And it does not retreat to an ivory tower where it shuts its eyes to wrongs, injustice and intolerance. It gazes out upon the world and makes as critical and objective an evaluation of current events as it possibly can. It is a kind of barometer of history, showing men which way the wind blows and advising them to govern themselves accordingly. We have to learn to read that barometer correctly. If it says that Adolf Hitler is a scourge who will destroy our civilization, we must do one thing. If it says that another world war will lay waste our heritage of moral values, our sanctuary of religion, our God-given status as human beings, then we must do another thing.

If common sense has less hold on our national thinking than it did a few years ago, what has brought about such a change? Four letters spell the answer—fear. We are faced with a situation unprecedented in our history—the possible destruction of the British fleet, the toppling of the Great Wall of the Atlantic. For a hundred and fifty years we have rested secure behind that wall, and never have had to concern ourselves very seriously with what lay beyond. Soon that wall may fall, leaving us exposed to the threat of forces on the other side. In the first panic of realization we have not stopped to think very clearly. We have not stopped to ask if those forces are inimical to us, or if they could do anything about it if they were. There has been such a short time to peek through the cracks in the wall that we have not yet seen that possibly the trouble on the other side is a Continental trouble which affects American interest only indirectly. We have said, of course, those forces are inimical to us, not realizing that perhaps this is a territorial, economic, and political problem rather than an ideological one. Well, what does common sense have to say on the subject?

It says, for one thing, to beware of this word, "ideology." When you couch a fight in ideological terms, and represent one side as the incarnation of wrong, brutality, and intolerance, while the other side stands forth as the apotheosis of right and democratic principle, you arouse human emotions which otherwise would not have been affected. That is an admirable way to impel a people toward war, and to continue a war. But it has one regrettable fault. It just is not true. Common sense warns that in a given fight there are two sides, and that the opposing side usually has more reasons motivating it than you realize at the time.

Now common sense, being a reasonable sort of thing, will admit that one side may have considerably more to recommend it than the other; but its long-range vision also compels it to admit that the method by which that "better" side has chosen to remedy conditions, will surely bring it to grief. Statistics, facts, analyses, historical precedent all help to confirm this statement, but nothing is more persuasive in the long run than the sanatory counsels of common sense.

This term, common sense, has a country cousin called "horse sense," to which it is closely related. Horse sense is simply American for straight thinking. When a man could see the facts of an issue more clearly and directly than other men, we used to say he had horse sense. But currently it is beginning to look as though horse sense must have disappeared with its namesake, for clear, direct thinking is something of a scarcity today. No more is required to send us into an unreasoning panic than the mere mention by President Roosevelt of our unfortified borders and our air-distances from Newfoundland, Bermuda, and Alaska; the suggestion that France fell because she acted too late; or the rumor that Fascist agents are abroad in the United States.

We are a puzzling people to figure out. Four years ago when almost 80 per cent of the American press supported Landon and told us he was the man we had to vote for, we paid no attention at all to our newspapers and reëlected Roosevelt by the greatest majority in American political history. Some men began to suspect that perhaps the press was not as powerful a medium for shaping public opinion as it fancied itself to be. But today we seem to be right back where we were. The slightest pressing in our daily paper of the need for conscription, for 50,000 airplanes, for an enormous navy, receives an automatic nod of approval from the American people. For such credulity as this we should have been prepared by Orson Welles' Martian broadcast which was, in its way, one of the most significant radio programs ever sent out over the air. The shrewd, smart, cunning Yankee is rapidly becoming a "sucker" of the most gullible type.

This decline of our critical faculties has a two-fold danger. First, there is the danger inherent in those things and acts to which we give our approval. And, secondly, there is the ominous fact that dictatorships have come to power in Europe largely because the people have been willing to surrender their critical faculties in order to obtain certain desired ends—such as conscription, 50,000 planes, an enormous navy. You do not find dictatorships growing up where common sense holds sway. Common sense is a simple, everyday sort of thing; but so was the stone that David found in the river bed.

On the basis of existing evidence, it does not seem too much to say that unless we recover our customary reliance upon the dependability of common sense, this nation is going to be in for a most miserable time of it.

Now, as never before, history demands that we keep our heads and follow the promptings of reason and insight. This is a tremendous obligation which history imposes. For if we do not act accordingly, we are likely to find common sense saying, as Luigi Lucatelli once said, "Farewell, good Sirs, I am leaving for the future. I will wait for Humanity at the crossroads, three hundred years hence!" And that is a long time to wait.

The Lessons of the First Phase of the War

HERMANN RAUSCHNING

[NOTE: This article, a *Nofrontier News Service* Exclusive, is written by the author of *The Voice of Destruction* and *The Revolution of Nihilism,* who, although at one time a confidant of Hitler, has become a violent opponent of Naziism. He has recently arrived in this country.]

Two developments of enormous significance have marked the events of the past fifteen months. On the one hand we have seen the collapse of a world we had come to regard as stable, ordered, and unalterable. On the other, there has been unleashed on the world a new force of limitless possibilities.

We must be careful to discriminate between factors in the situation which, however impressive they may seem at the time, are merely transitory and those which are likely to be lasting in effect, those which will determine the future. The most profoundly significant event of the past year was not the military defeat of France, but the political collapse which made that defeat possible. Like all revolutionary movements, National Socialism developed a military technique of its own. It was a unique contribution of political and revolutionary action with military tactics.

The question we must first ask ourselves is: Why were the democracies unprepared for this new strategy, with its new tactics? What paralyzed the resolution of the Allies? The dangers represented in the person of Hitler had been obvious for years. Why were they not taken seriously?

When, in spite of its traditions, the old, democratic France collapsed after a few weeks' resistance, the prophecies made by Hitler for years appeared to be all too clearly substantiated. This democratic regime, incapable of united resistance, paralyzed from within, seemed to collapse before the youthfully dynamic forces of a new age. It was revealed as obsolete and retrograde—the kind of regime which throughout history had never been able to absorb revolutionary ideas, or to withstand them effectively. "Too late," were the words which greeted its demise, just as they had been written on the tomb of every other obsolete system.

We must not deceive ourselves. A world has collapsed in ruins. And there is no road back to it. Its outward appearances bore no relation to the forces which were active behind its well-weathered facade. Was it therefore a world of fantasy? Today we must face the only possible answer—that it was a world ruled by the principles of make-believe but that only those principles have collapsed. The world itself remains, and new forces of enormous power have been released which will eventually achieve a form and order of their own. They will create an opponent for whom Hitler will be no match.

The secret of Hitler's success is clear enough. He always sailed with the tide. On the flood of a new, irresistible urge he was borne along—not on his own personal qualities but on the extraordinary forces which he has been in a position to manipulate. The post-war order created by the Treaty of Versailles had nothing whatever to do with Hitler's success, in spite of his continual harping on the subject. Something more elemental gave him the opportunity to utilize his talents, and his acuteness of perception into the real situation most of all accounts for the mastery he has attained over its development.

I have already said that the form of political and economic life in Europe—perhaps in the whole world—no longer corresponded with the inner life. The power relations between one nation and another no longer represent the international political reality. The property relationships between nations no longer represent the international economic reality. How the world should develop was not merely a question of reconciling totalitarian dictatorship with democracy, as has been represented so often. The entire Continental system, of national sovereign states, with their rival ambitions and territorial claims, was no longer in keeping with the spirit of the age. Therefore this system of nationalisms could no longer inspire a genuine political will and, above all, the will to resist. The spirit of the age, on the contrary, had arisen from an urge far different from that which had made possible the foundation and unification of sovereign states. The progress of science had abolished distances, the improvement of military weapons had made natural obstacles and frontiers mere illusions. Thus, there was a natural basis for the new spirit.

Moreover the ancient concept of a nation, with absolute sovereignty, with absolute independence had become absolutely meaningless in the face of the ever-growing social tensions and spiritual convulsions which afflicted the inner life of those states which still kept their names on the map. There were groups on the Left and groups on the Right whose primary object was to pursue their interests and aspirations, not as citizens of the state in which they happened to live, but in conjunction with their like-minded comrades throughout the whole world. Internationals of the most varied shades of belief were no longer merely the instruments of political propaganda. They formed the broad outline of a new reality. The urge to tear down the old, meaningless tangle of frontiers, and at last to achieve a unified Continent of Europe—this was the evolution to which every revolutionary looked forward.

On the one hand, among the defenders of the old order, there existed only paralysis and indecision. But, from one end of Europe to the other, the essential pre-revolutionary conditions already existed. "This is a capitalist war, we have no interest in it"—such was the slogan of one side; and the other said, "It is a meaningless war. It will destroy all property and pave the way for Communism." Meanwhile, the masses—those millions whom their leaders had learned to guide by the power of suggestion—stood aside.

In such a topsy-turvy world, this man Hitler exploited the newly awakening forces for his own ends. He succeeded on the one hand in dividing his opponents and confusing their powers of judgment. He succeeded, too, in winning over men who wanted to see in him the herald of a new age.

Whether we can welcome the destruction by Hitler's methods even of the useless and obsolete in the life of the European continent is, to say the least, doubtful. It would have been better if human insight, instead of letting things take their own course, had spared us the revolution by giving us peaceful evolution before it was too late, for much that was worth preserving has been destroyed with that which was not. But as things now are, Hitler's attack upon the existing order has compelled us to face up to a reconstruction of our European world. That is the overwhelming lesson which we must learn from the events of the past year.

Only with such a will to create a new order can the merely destructive power of Hitlerian political nihilism, which has no aims of its own, be overcome. That such a will has already appeared is the second momentous change of our time. This will exists today and it is exerting its attraction upon all those who either feel dimly or see clearly what is involved in this struggle.

Hitler, who was on a safe course so long as he sailed with the tide, and so achieved his objective of destroying an unreal world, will fall into error and be cast upon the shore with the ebb tide as soon as the genuinely creative forces of a new age come into operation. He is a man who has never understood the English people. Their character is entirely beyond his powers of imagination. He took them to be degenerate and weak-willed. The young English airmen will have taught him better. He regarded the form of the British Commonwealth as a capitulation to the exclusive desires of the individual states and therefore regarded it as doomed. Today, it is precisely out of this form of free and voluntary union of nations and communities that the great conception of a universal and European order is being born; this concept alone will endure.

Thus, it is historically no accident that the waves of the nihilist revolution should be shattered on the chalk cliffs of the British Isles. This nation alone, which was able to develop imperialism into a free form of commonwealth, is singled out to oppose the Hitlerian concept of the domination of vast areas by force, terror, and totalitarian mobilization.

The military resistance offered to Hitler by the people of the British Empire alone, during these last critical weeks, springs from the forces of an ancient nation which knows its own life to be threatened as never before in its history.

But there is one other impelling force, and this will make itself felt in the future: the fact that this nation today fights in a representative capacity for the future of mankind, and that only this nation is today in a position to create the new peaceful order which will save the world.

Britain is rooted in the permanent values of democracy. Those features of democracy which were incapable of standing up to the totalitarian onslaught were the forms of life that are as transitory as all mortal things. But the things that are imperishable, and which every generation must win for itself anew, are the principles of democracy by which our western civilization stands or falls.

Thus, above this first year of world civil war, rides the watchword: "The Decline and Rebirth of Democracy."

A Basic Necessity

FLORA WHITE

Our journals have been quite vocal of late as to what constitutes a true education. John Dewey seems to cling to the Greek conception firmly insisting that it is a matter of growth, growth of the whole personality, and that true education will in all its phases promote growth.

Dr. Hutchins, president of Chicago University, has made the air vibrant with skeptical criticisms of our aims in so-called higher education. He seems to pose the question: What grounds have we for saying a man is educated? And a very pertinent as well as essential question we find it.

Other philosophical educators and scholars have been aroused to active discussion, until metaphysics, theology, and mysticism have become such a part of the attenuated controversy that not even Boethius could hope to keep pace with its elaborated trend.

There are however certain assumptions as to the part schools play in the educative process which are quite within the grasp of any intelligent layman. There are fewer assumptions as to the parental involvement in that process, but there is a fair probability that the layman's judgment in this field may be of greater value to society at large than that of the scholasticised educator. For there is in the heart of the average parent undoubtedly the conviction that it is the duty of both school and home to bring their young into higher relations to life: to stimulate in them the desire to become right-minded citizens with a vital interest in the welfare of their communities.

The problem that faces us is a dual problem: What is the obligation of the school, and what is the obligation of the parent? Let us assume that both school and parent are looking at the problem soberly and unselfishly, each ready to do his part and do it to the utmost. Even so, is not each bound to put the query: What is my part?

There has been much talk about the coöperation of home and school, parents and teachers, as if they existed on equal terms and had equal responsibilities. But can they exist on equal terms and do they have equal responsibilities? How much does the school really count in the educational process, and how much does the parent count?

We should not fail to consider the fact that supremely noble eras have existed without schools; eras productive of high art, unexcelled literature, good government. Both archaeology and history are very revealing in this matter. Unearthed Persian sculptures tell their story. The Eddas and Sagas, sung and recited centuries before transcription, tell theirs. Yet neither these nor the Baghavad-Gita nor The Song of Roland were the product of what we term schools.

And when we look at governments we recall that of Charlemagne in the ninth century as well as that of Lincoln in the nineteenth, and reflect that the majesty

of each of these men was independent of any school whatsoever. In facing such facts, let us also reflect that there have been no noble eras, no productive epochs, no great men without the fulfillment of one basic necessity: the parental impulse and care.

Instead of giving emphasis to this basic necessity there has been an inclination of late to shirk the issue by placing the inexcusable taboo upon it of the word "sentimental." We have not gone to the extent to which Russia has gone in eliminating from our thinking a recognition of the parental impulse as a basic necessity of education, but we have gone much farther than wisdom would permit us to go.

There has been sincerity and earnestness on the part of the school, along with an exaggerated conception of its function and value. There has been uncertainty and acquiescence on the part of parents, along with more or less unnecessary negligence. And from out of these attitudes of both school and parents there has come to pass a confusion concerning responsibilities that puts our young in danger—the danger of losing their birthright, the right to be taught by their parents the vital things of life, the things that really matter, that truly educate, whatever the epoch, race, or circumstance.

These vital things of life may be emphasized and aided by the school—they must be—but they cannot be taught by the school. Nor do we need to use that much overworked word "precognition" to make our meaning clear. It is self-evident that there are permanent values in life that transcend any time period, any culture period.

The most fundamental of these values is love of others and love of truth. These must emanate from the parent and become incorporate in offspring. They must become incorporate in bone and muscle, in texture of the brain, in aspiration of the soul.

Definite aims, determined purpose, thorough organization have strengthened the grip of the school upon the life of our youth.

A less certain aim, a vague sense of shifted responsibility, a lack of organized effort in the home, have weakened the grip that Nature has put in the hands of parents. But surely at such a moment as this there is every reason to reëstablish that grip.

The fate of a community does not lie in the hands of its schools. It lies in the hands of its fathers and mothers and in their relation to the basic necessity of life, as here indicated. With a vision that has no limitation in self—that pledges all to humanity—parents have it in their power to make the school their ally in the production of a better world.

Already the school has begun to look at its work from a new standpoint. It has begun to realize that education means more than schooling; that it is a process of growth which puts one into serviceable relations to humanity.

If this wider outlook eventually dominates the school, it will gain a humility that it does not now possess. It will comprehend the fact that its noblest use is to reinforce the educative process so that our youth may become wiser, healthier parents of the next generation.

Quaker Persecutions

O. A. HAMMAND

Only a few years ago an American promoter showed up in London and wanted to bargain for the bones of William Penn. He would take them back to Philadelphia, put a fence around them, charge fifteen cents, and make a lot of money. The Englishmen listened but were not interested. "William Penn was born in England and died in England; he worked for the people of England and suffered for the people of England. No! The body of William Penn will not be carried back to Philadelphia. It will remain where it is."

The son of the British Admiral, Sir William Penn, turned Quaker at the age of twenty-two. He was expelled from Oxford as that was no place for a radical; his father struck him with his cane and told him to get out; and he was imprisoned in the tower. He preached in the streets and they put him in jail and tried him for heresy but the jury turned him loose. This made the judge mad, so he fined the jury forty marks each and put them in jail.

Admiral Penn on his deathbed was repentant. He sent for his son and urged him to do nothing to violate his conscience. Old Penn called upon the Duke of York and asked him to request his brother, Charles II, to whom Penn had made big loans in order to help the king build a navy, to repay his loans of 16,000 pounds to his son. The king, as usual, had no cash but he had plenty of land, and that is how he happened to give the charter to 40,000 square miles of land, originally known as "Penn's Forestland," now the Keystone State, to the great Quaker. It was named in honor of the old admiral, however, and not the young pacifist. This was in the year 1681.

Penn recognized the fact that his grant gave him no honest title to the land, and by so doing set a new precedent and almost got himself mobbed. He made a treaty with the Indians under the great elm, and the native sons of America agreed to "live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon give light." Nothing was put in writing: it was not necessary as they were dealing with an honest man. The great Treaty of Shackamaxon was made in June, 1683, and was never broken for seventy-three years—until all the parties who joined in it were in the happy hunting ground. No Quaker was ever killed in his home by an Indian. Only three Quakers have been killed by Indians in American history, and all of them were carrying guns and the Indians did not know that they were Quakers.

Penn's charter gave him authority to make laws, set up courts, and appoint judges and officers, but he turned all of the power over to the people. From the beginning Pennsylvania enjoyed liberty and prosperity, became a home for the oppressed from all lands who came in great numbers, and is today the second American state in population. After two years Penn returned to England to help the oppressed Quakers, and obtained the release of twelve hundred from dungeons and prisons, put there by the same King Charles II who had promised liberty to tender consciences. William and Mary suspected Penn of an attempt to restore

the deposed James II, charged him with treason, and took away his colony in 1692, but two years later the charge was dismissed and the colony restored. In 1699 he returned to Pennsylvania and gave the people a new charter which continued until the Revolutionary War. In 1701 he went back to England and wrote his great book: *The Present and Future of Peace in America.* Peaceful methods, such as arbitration and conciliation instead of force and violence, were strong in the mind of William Penn.

The growth of what we now call nationalism increased the pressure on the quaker principle of government. Finally in 1756 war was declared on the Delawares and Shawnees by the Governor and Council, and the quaker members of the assembly resigned and walked out. Indian warfare became bitter. Rewards of "130 pieces of eight" were offered for Indian scalps and 50 for the scalps of squaws. "The terrors of Indian warfare to which other colonies had been subjected were now for the first time reproduced in Pennsylvania and the Holy Experiment was ended."

In the other colonies the Quakers had plenty of grief. "In Virginia, Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose were pilloried, given thirty-two lashes apiece, their goods taken away, and they were expelled from the colony. Maryland decreed that quaker emissaries should be whipped from constable to constable until they were out of the province. George Wilson suffered such cruelty that he died in the prison at Jamestown, Virginia; and his comrade, William Cole, never recovered from the effects of his experience. Humphrey Norton was flogged in New Haven, and the letter "H" for heretic was burned with a red-hot iron deep in his right hand. They met the usual fate of political and religious radicals."

In New England the persecution was even worse. There was one exception: Rhode Island made no law punishing the Quakers, but Massachusetts and the rest of the colonies bore down on them rigorously. Whipping and ear-cropping and boring through the tongue with a hot iron did no good, so they passed a law to punish them by death.

In 1657, Lawrence Southwick and his wife Cassandra were whipped without a trial, imprisoned eleven days, their cattle taken away from them "for six weeks' absence from worship on the Lord's Day," and then ordered banished from the colony. They got as far as Shelter Island but died from the flogging and starvation. They still owed fines for not going to church, so their two young children, Daniel and Provided, were sold as slaves to pay the balance due on the four pounds and six shillings which had been imposed against them.

Massachusetts passed a law that Quakers should "be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and be tied to a cart's tail, and whipped throughout the town and from one town to another until they got out of the jurisdiction." In answer to this, Lydia Wardel took off all her clothes, and strolled up and down the streets of Salem. In 1677, Margaret Brewster appeared "in sackcloth, with ashes upon her head, and barefooted and her face blacked" and walked down the aisle of the Old South Church and denounced the wickedness of Massachusetts. For this she was whipped, but it was the last whipping. Public feeling became so strong that any further attempt at persecution was abandoned.

One of those "ifs" in history arises in the American story of William Penn. Suppose we had no City of Philadelphia and no Keystone State. Just this might easily have come about, for there was a plan made by the Puritans to "waylaye" the good ship *Welcome* and sell William Penn and the other Quakers as slaves to Barbados in exchange for rum and sugar.

During the first World War, the Quakers set up headquarters in London to look after their boys who got caught in the draft. In those four years no military officer or civil officer ever knocked at the door of the Quaker headquarters. It has been said that they could not find it, but that is not the reason. The British Secret Service is supposed to know everything that is to be known, and they certainly knew the location of the Quaker headquarters. They knew what the Quakers would do and what they would not do, and that there was no use of starting a war on the Quakers. That spirit of liberalism has made England a great and united nation.

Now, another Quaker boy out in Iowa, twenty-two years of age, just the same age that William Penn was when he became a Quaker, has been indicted by the grand jury because he refused to register under the conscription act and accept the status of a killer. The penalty is a fine of ten thousand dollars or five years in the penitentiary, or both. In this as well as in other periods of military, political and religious fanaticism, the Quaker remains intelligent, honest, and strong.

To the Preacher

Preach about yesterday, Preacher!
The time so far away:
When the hand of Deity smote and slew,
And the heathen plagued the stiff-necked Jew;
Or when the Man of Sorrow came,
And blessed the people who cursed his name—
Preach about yesterday, Preacher,
Not about today!

Preach about tomorrow, Preacher!
Beyond this world's decay:
Of the sheepfold Paradise we priced
When we pinned our faith to Jesus Christ;
Of those hot depths that shall receive
The goats who would not so believe—
Preach about tomorrow, Preacher,
Not about today!

Preach about the old sins, Preacher!
And the old virtues, too!
You must not steal nor take man's life,
You must not covet your neighbor's wife,
And woman must cling at every cost
To her one virtue, or she is lost—
Preach about the old sins, Preacher!
Not about the new!

Preach about the other man, Preacher!
The man we all can see!
The man of oaths, the man of strife,
The man who drinks and beats his wife,
Who helps his mates to fret and shirk
When all they need is to keep at work—
Preach about the other man, Preacher!
Not about me!

Charlotte Perkins Gilman
(From *In This Our World*)

A Humanist Funeral Service

CORLISS LAMONT*

It would be generally acknowledged, I believe, that there has long been a widely felt need for funeral services centered around a non-supernatural, Humanist philosophy of existence. With the inevitable misgivings of one who explores for the first time a subject that is both delicate and difficult, I offer below the tentative version of a service that might be deemed appropriate by modern minds and that I hope may arouse critical comment. I have tried to stress three things: Man's kinship with Nature, the naturalness of death, and the broad social ends and ideals of human living.

Those who use such a service as this will of course alter it as they see fit, especially in regard to the selections of music and poetry. It likewise must be left to individual taste as to whether to include biographical material about the deceased. I myself am in favor of including some such material in brief form in order to individualize the service.

The service as it stands at present, and not including possible biographical remarks, lasts a little more than twenty minutes, of which well over half is taken up by the selections of music. The meditations and poetry are to be read by the minister or whoever may be in charge of the service. In order to avoid the awkwardness of blank spaces, I have given the deceased a name chosen at random. The service follows:

Music. Prelude. Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, Second Movement, Part I.

Meditation:

We are gathered here today to do honor to the life and memory of John Stephens. Death has come to our friend, as it comes eventually to all men. And an occasion like this naturally impels us to individual soul-searchings of the most serious sort and to deep philosophical questionings concerning the nature of the universe and the meaning of human existence.

Death brings home to us the common concerns, the common crises and the common destiny of all who live upon this little planet journeying we know not whither along the vast and unending corridors of space and time. Death draws us together in the kinship of sorrow; it dramatically accents the ultimate equality involved in our ultimate fate, the essential brotherhood of man that lies beneath all the bitter dissensions and divisions registered in history and contemporary affairs. The human race, with its infinite roots reaching back over the age-long past and its infinite ramifications extending throughout the present world and ever pushing forward into the future, is one great family. The living and the dead and the generations yet unborn make up that enduring communion of humanity which shares the high adventure of life upon this dear and pleasant earth.

Man in his every aspect is a part and product of the Nature that is his home. He is cousin to all other living things; and in his very flesh and blood one with that same marvellous and multi-structured matter which underlies the whole mighty universe, the infinite array of galaxies and stars, the warming and life-giving sun, our own world and everything that's in it. Here on this friendly planet there have evolved, over the course of millions of years, human beings possessed of the power of mind, the splendor of heroism, the beauty of love, and all the other diverse gifts that mark Man at his noblest and best. This great and eternal Nature it is in which we ever live and move and have our being. So, beyond our kinship with our fellow men there is always our kinship with the natural world that produces and sustains us. But if we participate in the enjoyment of the rich and manifold goods of that world, we must also accept its established laws. And one of those laws ordains the death of human individuals and the return of our bodies, indestructible in their ultimate elements, to the Nature that brought them forth.

Indeed, it is Nature's way to affirm Life *through* Death, having decreed extinction for all individuals belonging to the higher species, with the result that life itself has gone on to greater and greater heights. Death is a function of life and derives its entire significance *from* life. Instead of retaining indefinitely the same living instruments for the evolutionary upsurge, Nature discards them at a certain stage and produces fresh and more vigorous ones. We die to make room for newborn and lustier vitality. This not only makes possible the progress of the species, but also lays the biological foundation for the greatest happiness of the greatest number, giving to generation after generation, including our own children and descendants, their chance to experience the felicities of living.

Music. Grieg's "Morning" from the Peer Gynt Suite.

Meditation:

It is *premature* death that primarily lends to mortality its tragic aspect. Yet whatever human relationships and enterprises death may break in upon, we at least can be sure that those who have passed on are finally and eternally at rest. And whatever length of time we have had a friend, we are always grateful for his having lived and for our having known him in the full richness of his personality. Nothing can detract from the joys that we shared with him; nothing now can possibly affect the happiness and depth of experience that he himself knew during life. What has been, has been. The immortality of the past is sacred and secure. Our love for John Stephens and his love for us, his friends and family, is something that cannot be altered by time or circumstance. These are thoughts that we treasure; for there can never be too much human warmth in the world, too much friendship, too much loving kindness.

Reading. Let us stand and read together:

Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not love, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing.

Love suffereth long, and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

Love never faileth: but whether there be prophecies,

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they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away. . . . And now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; but the greatest of these is love.

Meditation:

It is for us, the living, to be re-dedicated on this occasion to those aims and ideals that have been set forth by the great seers and prophets of every age and every culture; to re-affirm that love and sympathy toward our fellow men which today as ever remains the foundation-stone of the good society; to resolve anew to bend our energies and our minds toward the progress and well-being of all humanity,—so that everywhere men may have life, and have it more abundantly. Let us so perfect the human environment and the techniques of science that every person may achieve a normal life-span in a normal world. Let us welcome all soul-enhancing and healthy pleasures, all actions and ideas that contribute to the broader development of joy and freedom, truth and beauty, in both our own country and the earth at large. For the best of all answers to Death is the generous affirmation of Life on behalf of the greater glory of Man. And the continuing triumph of Life, as well as the unceasing significance of individual effort, lies in the ongoing *eternal* life of the human race.

Brief Personal Remarks. (Optional. About five minutes.)

Poem. From "The Passing Strange" by John Masefield:

All things change, the darkness changes,
The wandering spirits change their ranges,
The corn is gathered to the granges.

The corn is sown again, it grows;
The stars burn out, the darkness goes;
The rhythms change, they do not close.

They change, and we, who pass like foam,
Like dust blown through the streets of Rome,
Change ever, too; we have no home,

Only a beauty, only a power,
Sad in the fruit, bright in the flower,
Endlessly erring for its hour,

But gathering, as we stray, a sense
Of Life, so lovely and intense,
It lingers when we wander hence,

That those who follow feel behind
Their backs, when all before is blind,
Our joy, a rampart to the mind.

Music. Postlude. Brahms' First Symphony, Fourth Movement, Part I.

On the Pacifist Front

[UNITY will publish from time to time, under this heading, such news as can be gathered about pacifists and pacifist activities in these war days. We earnestly invite our readers to send us such items of interest as may come to their attention.—*Editor.*]

XXVII

A new pacifist journal, the *Phoenix,* a quarterly edited and published by James Peter Cooney of St. Mary's, Georgia, has recently appeared. The subscription price is two dollars per year.

Fellowship, the organ of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, announces the following:

Detailed plans of the organization and program of the newly formed Baptist Pacifist Fellowship were recently announced by its President, the Reverend Edward C. Kunkle, of Mount Vernon, New York. Affiliated with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship is not officially related to any denominational organization. It is composed of Baptists who have, through their faith in the teachings of Jesus and of His way of life, been led to give their supreme loyalty to Him in all the affairs of life, and to renounce the use of violence of whatever form in settling controversies between individuals, groups, races, or nations.

Fellowship publishes the following news from England under the title, "The Will of an Internationalist":

George Lansbury's will, according to an item recently published in the *Manchester Guardian,* directed that his remains should be cremated and the ashes thrown into the sea somewhere off Land's End. "I desire this," said Lansbury, "because although I love England very dearly and consider this lovely island the best spot in the world, I am a convinced internationalist and like to feel I am just a tiny part of universal life, which will one day break down all divisions of creed or speech and economic barriers and make mankind one great eternal unit both in life and death."

We find the following in the *Christian Pacifist,* organ of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in England:

What is happening to our membership in wartime? There have been disappointments, and we have lost during the last year through resignation, between 200 and 250 members, no less than 130 of these since June 1. . . . On the other hand, there is very great encouragement in the fact that the number of members and sympathizers has increased during the year that has elapsed since the war commenced by no less than 3,400, of whom 3,000 are new members, and the total now is over 13,000.

The United Press has published the following statement as to the government program for conscientious objectors:

Draft experts have completed the outline of a program under which conscientious objectors would be put to work on non-combatant national defense projects sponsored either by the government or religious organizations, it was learned tonight.

The program, drawn along liberal lines, is designed to carry out that portion of the selective service act which states that conscientious objectors can be excused from military training provided they are assigned to work of "national importance under civilian direction." Under the act such an objector is defined as one who "by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form."

Basing their program on recent British experience, draft experts propose that "qualified" objectors to military service be made a direct responsibility of the National Selective Service Board, and that a special division be set up to supervise this group. The Federal government would find work for such persons on special defense tasks so they would neither receive special economic advantages nor suffer undue hardships as a result of their beliefs.

Government agencies such as the Works Progress Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the National Health Service would furnish projects of importance to national defense under the plan.

An alternative proposal would provide that church groups interested in conscientious objectors be authorized under Federal supervision to set up and finance defense projects on which the objectors could be employed. Church leaders, with

whom Federal officials have conferred, are reported to have expressed themselves as gratified with the plans now under way.

The selective service act provides that bona fide conscientious objectors will be certified by local draft boards on the basis of answers to a special questionnaire. It was disclosed that primary designation of such objectors will be simplified by reserving until the last question of scruples against military service. For example, registrants who would be deferred for any reason such as occupational necessity, dependency, or other legal reason would be ruled out on that basis without raising the question of conscientious objection.

If the question of deferment came down to the point of conscientious objection—in other words, if an objector was otherwise fit and eligible for induction into the armed forces—then he would receive the special questionnaire.

Members of the Union of the Spiritual Communities of Christ of British Columbia, Canada, have addressed the following statement to Premier William L. Mackenzie:

Honourable Sir:

We, members of the Union of the Spiritual Communities of Christ of British Columbia, Canada, wish to draw your attention to events recently occurring here between local authorities and members of our Society. Because we have not entered into the national war registration police have arrested a number of our brethren and confined them in prison. In addition, local police and inhabitants of the town of Grand Forks have cruelly beaten up a group of our members while they were peacefully walking to their meeting-place where they intended to discuss the question of their confined brethren.

A number of weeks ago, at the time when national registration in Canada was proclaimed, we considered it essential to render you beforehand—to the Department of National Defence Services—our register, that is, family-lists of the members of the Spiritual Communities of Christ of British Columbia (which we trust you have received and accepted) together with a letter and declaration of the "Named Doukhobors" of Canada, which fully answers for our attitude toward this question.

In the letter we clearly expounded that members of our Society, because of their religious beliefs, cannot enter into any national war registrations. We now also add that, specifically for refusal to enter war registration, military service, and all activities connected with war, we were exiled from our Motherland—Russia.

And now we declare, as we have always declared before, that we cannot participate in war, directly nor indirectly. We are citizens of the Father Universal and therefore have not entered (nor can we ever enter) the ranks, nor belong to any political party. We have never given (nor can we ever give) our votes during elections, thereby we are free from any responsibility before God or man for the acts of any government established of man. We believe in the brotherhood of all peoples, and the establishment of the Kingdom of Christ on earth.

In conclusion, we say that we do not merit all these punishments. We were accepted into this country on conditions that we were to receive freedom of religion, and only after the consent of the highest Canadian authorities was given did we enter the dominion.

Our present ideals remain the same as they were in Russia. Therefore we protest against all these cruelties and club-law meted out to our brethren at the hands of local authorities. Our sole vital aim (and desire) has been and is: Toil and peaceful life! Christ the only Light and Leader for the world.

We trust you will render this matter your kind consideration. With sincere respects,

J. N. Koochin and Eight Others.

Nofrontier News Service publishes the following in a recent bulletin:

Sponsored by Congressman John G. Alexander, Republican, of Minnesota, and endorsed by 23 prominent Americans of special interest and experience in foreign affairs, support among progressive groups has been increasingly forthcoming for a proposal, originally suggested by the Campaign for World Government, with headquarters in Chicago, to appropriate $50,000,000 for stop-the-war action and peace preparation.

The plan calls for "immediate joint action with all possible like-minded governments of nations not at war in offering their services openly and publicly to the belligerents in the cause of peace," and for "the actual extension of the system of federation into a world union of nations". Signers include Oswald Garrison Villard, Professor Charles Braden of Northwestern University, Esther Fiske Hammond, Dr. John Howland Lathrop, Vernon Nash, Dr. Charles Francis Potter, Professor Theodore F. Marburg of the University of Nebraska, and the plan is being given wide publicity by William B. Lloyd, Jr., secretary of the Campaign.

"War is not inevitable for the United States," declares the statement, bearing the names of the signers: "the nations of the Western Hemisphere are powerful enough to demand a cessation of fighting in all parts of the world and to offer assurances of a just settlement. This experiment in non-military defense ought to be tried because it involves the safety of the whole race. As an issue it is above party, and we urge the responsible leaders of all parties to express themselves in favor of the speediest passage of this legislation."

"The present Congress," the statement concludes, "has already appropriated or authorized 17 billion dollars, which means $126 for every man, woman, and child, for war preparations. This bill would provide only 50 million dollars, amounting to 37 cents per capita, for peace action."

The *Conscientious Objector,* organ of the War Resisters League, reports the following in a special dispatch from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania:

J. C. Spahr Hull, a high school teacher, was suspended for taking part in a test tribunal for conscientious objectors.

Hull met with a group of FOR and WRL members to discuss the problem of conscription and to go over the questions asked British CO's to prepare young objectors to meet local draft board trials. Hull himself is over draft age, having just passed his 36th birthday.

The meeting was modeled on the test tribunal conducted in New York by the War Resisters League.

The following morning Hull was called into the office of Assistant Superintendent of Schools Gerald D. Whitney and suspended "pending further investigation by the Board of Public Education." At the same time, Assistant U. S. Attorney George Mashank announced that the Federal Bureau of Investigation would probe the meeting.

Hull stated that the meeting was held by already convinced conscientious objectors and that the group had no intention of influencing others.

The Associated Press reports the following account of the revolt in India against the English edict forbidding all speaking and printing on behalf of peace:

The working committee of the All-India Congress (Nationalist party) has decided, it was revealed today from Wardha, to order nearly 1,500 members to invite arrest in the party's civil disobedience campaign against British war measures.

It was not disclosed whether Mohandas K. Gandhi, leader of the party, would invite arrest himself but his participation was not expected.

Gandhi is understood to have drafted a list of members of the working committee, the All-India Congress committee and the central provincial legislatures who are expected to commit civil disobedience acts this week-end or early next week.

Three of Gandhi's followers already have been sentenced to prison for such acts.

The New York *World-Telegram* publishes the following account of the sentencing of the eight Union Theological School students who refused to register under the Conscription Law, a story of memorable significance in the history of the pacifist movement:

Sentences of a year and a day were imposed today by Federal Judge Samuel Mandelbaum on each of the eight students of the Union Theological Seminary who publicly refused to register for the draft.

Before the sentences were imposed it was pointed out to each of the students that they were exempt from the draft as conscientious objectors, but not exempt from registration and that they could receive suspended sentences if they would change their minds and register.

David Dellinger of Wakefield, Mass., president of the student body at the seminary and former Yale athlete, more or

less summed up the attitude of the group in his statement. He said:

"We regret that our attempt to live as closely to Jesus and Jesus' way as we can would have to cause this friction and inconvenience, but war, which is a systematic mass murder of our human brothers, is completely contrary to our best intelligence and to the teachings of Jesus and contrary to the finest and best instincts of men.

"Registration leads to conscription and conscription leads to war. To some our attitude must seem frivolous, but to register would be contrary to everything our common sense and our best instincts tell us to do."

In addition to Dellinger, those who were sentenced were:
George M. Houser, of Denver.
Joseph J. Bevilacqua, of Buffalo.
Howard Spragg, of Malden, Mass.
Meredith E. Dallas, of Grosse Point, Mich.
William N. Lovell, of Poughkeepsie.
Donald Benedict, of Newark.
Richard J. Wichlei, of Binghamton.

Here are the explanations given to the court by several of them:

Wichlei: "I'm sorry for causing this difficulty, but I'm operating under a greater compulsion than manmade law—the word of God. Warfare and its inhumanity are irreconcilable to the spirit of Jesus."

Dallas: "I want to thank the government attorney and, indeed, all the officials for their patience, and I trust that this cleavage between us, with one group meting out punishment and the other receiving it, will not indicate cleavage of the spirit."

Houser: "We believe in democracy, but when we must decide between the will of God and the will of the state we must attempt to follow the will of God rather than an imperfect following of the will of the state. I know it is impossible for you to find in political science text books any theory upholding our stand, but we must follow it."

Bevilacqua: "Any step toward war should be resisted. I don't expect any leniency and I ask none here."

Benedict: "There comes a time when we must say, 'Thus far and no farther will we go.' If that stand conflicts with the law we must follow the will of God."

The eight were accompanied to court by scores of theological students, members of their families, and friends—so many that the corridor outside the courtroom was crowded as well as the courtroom itself. The two students who are married, Benedict and Dallas, were accompanied by their wives.

The proceedings were conducted in an atmosphere of extreme solemnity and many of the spectators were weeping when the sentence was pronounced.

The judge gave each of the eight defendants an opportunity to change his mind and when none accepted he said:

"We are now in a national emergency. Perhaps our country itself is at stake. I therefore sentence each of you to a year and a day in the penitentiary."

Mr. Walser remarked that the United States attorney had asked that the defendants begin their sentences immediately. He threw up his hands, saying, "The boys are ready," and the eight were led out of court to be fingerprinted and photographed before being taken to a penitentiary.

The War Resisters League, through its National Chairman, the Reverend Frank Olmstead, issued the following statement in regard to the sentencing of the eight Union Theological School students as recorded above:

Today eight boys have been sentenced to prison for refusing to register. We must recognize that the government has been unwise to pass such a law and we must commend these pacifists for their stand. Most of our members of draft age felt that they could conscientiously register, but the law does not provide for the absolutist pacifists. Those who felt that they could not coöperate in the slightest with the law which is wholly a military measure, had no alternative but to refuse to register.

These young men are less to be pitied than those who may pay the greater price in war. Their suffering is of a sort that is not in vain. Half a century hence it may be apparent that those sentenced are the true heroes of this period, pointing to the only attitude and means which can preserve democracy and bring peace.

We believe it would be both wise and *just for the President of the United States to immediately commute* these sentences. We who are at peace can surely afford to be as humane as are the British in the midst of a fight for their very lives.

The Study Table

CHARLES A. HAWLEY

The Sentimental Fifties

THE FEMININE FIFTIES. *By Fred Lewis Pattee. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company.* $3.00.

America is constantly becoming more conscious of itself. The series of World Wars is emphasizing this consciousness. The trend now is to write the literary and social history of America in ever smaller periods. Right now it is the decade which holds the center of interest. Professor Pattee, to whom all scholars are indebted, has given us an unforgettable picture of the fifties which he describes as feminine. This means, of course, that they are feminine as we look back on them from the present forties. The fifties were characterized by tears, and sentimentality. Everybody read *The Wide, Wide World,* which had according to literary counting 245 tearflows in its 574 pages. In this same period, Henry Ward Beecher's sermons left "not a dry eye in the house." The period had intense feeling: feeling for the slave, the victim of alcoholism, the sinner. *Ten Nights in a Bar Room* came out of this period as did the immortal *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* All in all, it was a decade of women writers, lecturers, singers. Grace Greenwood wrote articles for which she was well paid. She lectured as far west as the Missouri and was praised in the Omaha newspapers. Today she is forgotten except for the fact that she was a friend of Whittier. Time fails in which to mention Augusta Jane Evans Wilson, but we all remember that haunting story *St. Elmo.* There are many more memories in the book. It shows how feeling and sentiment led to the Civil War. Dr. Pattee has done a good deed in giving us this book, and we can learn to appreciate our American heritage by reading and pondering it.

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The Sermon as Literature

BEYOND THE FACTS. *By J. Richard Sneed. Nashville: Cokesbury Press.* $1.00.

This volume of sermons comes out of the Middle West and is probably typical of the best preaching in the pulpits of the Mississippi Valley. Bishop Hughes writes a foreword in which he tells the story of the Iowa-born minister who has written these excellent sermons. The bishop says a wise word about the sermon as a type of literature: "The simple truth is that the price of real and good preaching is a terrible one. The cost is often painful, sometimes excruciating. To stay at the desk; to read, pray, meditate, write, revise; to resist the call of superficial errands or pleasant sports; to defeat the plea of an inactivity which should be labeled 'laziness'—all this offers a chance for difficult

conquest." America needs more of this "difficult conquest."

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A Revaluation of Values

THE PROGRAM OF HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. *By C. Harve Geiger. Cedar Rapids: Laurance Press. 237 pp.*

This book is an important contribution to the history of higher education in America. The problem of the ever-increasing encroachment of tax-supported schools on the church schools is today recognized by all, whether educationists or laymen. The church-related colleges have performed, and are performing, a most valuable service in American culture. Who has supported these colleges? How have they carried on amid difficult times? These and other important questions the author has painstakingly answered. One function of the church-related college to higher education should not be overlooked: the church colleges have continuously upheld standards while tax-supported schools, under various kinds of pressure, have shown a tendency to lower standards. In the immediate future the revaluation of our educational values will be upon us as the result of the present world crisis. Then such a book as this will receive the attention due to a careful piece of research on an important subject.

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What Everybody Should Know

LITERARY CRITICISM, PLATO TO DRYDEN. *By Allan H. Gilbert. New York: American Book Company. 704 pp.* $4.00.

Professor Gilbert has written a book for everybody who wants to read intelligently. Everybody does read. Why should they not know how to read and know the best that has been said about enduring literature? Criticism is the method and process of pointing out the best, that which will endure. The present volume gives the European theories from Plato to the year 1700. Selections from Plato to Dryden are given with all necessary introductions and notes. This is the best book that has yet appeared for colleges and universities, where literary criticism is fortunately receiving increasing attention.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 98)

edly that free speech, free press, and freedom of assemblage cannot be taken away from some people without inevitably leading to the destruction of these rights for all people. The Committee believes that the surest antidote to harmful results that might come from the exercise of free speech, free press, and assemblage, are the counter arguments freely given by the opposition. To prevent or suppress free speech because of some possible evil result is to allow the suppression of free speech whenever someone imagines that some evil may result. There would be no guaranty of free speech under such condition; speech would be wholly subject to arbitrary whims and prejudices of persons in power or of mobs or vigilantes. Likewise, with free press and freedom of assemblage.

The Chicago Civil Liberties Committee is not concerned with the programs and platforms of individuals or minority political groups. Its members would probably find themselves opposed to the platform of many of the minority groups. But minority parties have the same rights now as in the days of Jefferson and Lincoln. The Committee defends only the right of minority parties to function but does not as a Committee support a single doctrine which they advocate, the sole function of the Committee being to defend civil liberties regardless of party affiliation or political, social, or religious views.

Minority parties, lawfully existing, have the right in compliance with the election law to distribute their literature and seek signers to petitions placing their candidates on the ballot. If that right is not protected against local public officials and against mobs, democracy itself has ceased to function. It is not the duty of the Committee to help any minority party get on the ballot; that is the party's task. It is the duty of the Committee to denounce interference with democracy whether by mobs or by sworn public officers and to lend legal aid to any individuals or groups whose rights have been taken away.

—*C. C. L. C.*

From a German Refugee in London

(Extracts from Personal Correspondence)

I

. . . I want you to know that I am still alive, though house and home may be wiped off the surface of the earth tonight. We have set our teeth to see this thing through, and try to keep cheerful and optimistic. A night of undisturbed sleep is all that most of us wish for—no more. What we went through in 1914-18 seems child's play as compared to what is expected from the civilian population now. In our little sphere of everyday life, each of us feels himself a warrior.

Neither my brother nor myself were interned. * * *

I am writing to you in a small dark room under the stairs of my house, with only a candle to light the darkness, while the fire of the anti-aircraft guns bangs and resounds overhead—reassuringly as soon as the buzz of an enemy-plane is heard. * * *

II

Thanks for your letter which reached me today. * * * The night raids of London have become more and more intensified, and the anti-aircraft fire shakes our lightly built houses to the very bottom. I only pray that I may not be maimed, but rather be killed at once. The attitude of the general public is marvellous; we all try to help each other, and those who have got stronger nerves try to calm the frightened ones. We are actually living below a battlefield, without any control whatever of what is going on over our heads. It may be that England will be saved once more by storms and fogs as she was in the Middle Ages, though the rough, rainy weather up to now has not hindered Goering's sending his bombers over the Channel.

It seems amazing that there should be panic in America, thousands of miles away from any battlefield.

In spite of the courage I try to manifest for my own and my friends' sake, winter with its long, cold nights rather frightens me. There is certainly food enough in England, but is there coal enough? Will there be gas and electricity, and paraffin oils to warm our rooms? And will there be rooms left to warm?

Hysteria in America

Returning to America after long absence in Europe, Mr. Devere Allen, Editor of *Nofrontier News Service*, makes the following observation:

In general we can say: 1, that Americans have the best spot-news coverage of any people in the world; 2, that they are more panicky, more subject to invisible propaganda, and less informed on *why* things happen, or on the true significance of what does happen, than most of them like to admit. Nowhere have we found among the belligerent or neutral peoples of Europe so much jittery fear, so much widespread near-hysteria, as in the U. S. A. Tragic as was Belgium for its unceasing emotional strain, its people were always calmer and less panicky than are present-day Americans. The same thing is even true of Switzerland, where the Germans were taking down the barbed wire along their side of the frontier at Basel just before we left. Is the American state of mind due to sheer sympathy with the fate of the invaded populations? Is it due actually to a belief that Hitler will conquer all Europe, then attempt to gobble up the Americas? Is it because the radio sends out tense comments every few minutes, whereas in Europe you can hear news only at infrequent stated intervals? Or is it an appalling lack of perspective, lack of basic knowledge, lack of essential economics and geography, a mere thrashing about on the surface of a turbulent, bewildering whirlpool of rushing events? More than ever we are convinced that the technique through which *NNS* works is a sound one, and its job all the more in need of doing.